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Toponyms in Manila and Cavite, Philippines

Abstract: This article examines place names in two Tagalog-speaking Philippine regions, the metropolitan area of Manila and the province of Cavite. The toponyms of the Spanish, American, and independent Philippine periods are compared, based on a sample from historical and contemporary sources including maps, articles, and geographical surveys. The place names include Tagalog endonyms related to local environmental features, religious and anthroponymic commemorative Spanish exonyms, and hybrid forms that combine Tagalog, Spanish, and/or English etymology. More recently, geo-classifiers from English are often found in hybrid forms. The results show that place-naming practices in Metro Manila and Cavite have shifted over time due to the contact between Tagalog, Spanish, and English in the region, and they reflect political and ideological stances.

Keywords: Tagalog, Spanish, English, toponyms, Manila, Cavite

1 Introduction

This article studies place names in Tagalog regions of the metropolitan area of Manila and the province of Cavite in the Philippines. The Philippines were part of the Spanish empire from the 1500s to the late 1800s when, after the Philippine independence movement and the Spanish-American War, the islands fell under American control in 1898. The United States governed the islands until the country's independence in 1946. These changes in local, colonial, and administrative powers provide a fascinating opportunity to compare place names from a historical perspective. In light of this background, our aim is to discover patterns and principles that govern place-naming practices in this area throughout different historical periods. So far, only a few linguistic studies about place-naming practices in this region have been done (e.g., Medina 1992, Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo 2008, Tormo Sanz & Salazar 1968), and this opening

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thus provides new data for the study of the linguistic influences of colonialism in the Philippines.

The patterns and principles of place-naming can reveal interesting generalizations about discursive and ideological practices in different historical periods (Stolz & Warnke 2016: 31–32). Therefore, in addition to offering an overview of the toponyms and related practices in the Manila and Cavite regions, a second aim of this paper is to investigate whether different historical periods differ or present similarities.

We have chosen to focus our analysis on Metro Manila and the province of Cavite, as these areas were central trading locations in pre-colonial times, and they have remained important administrative, military, and trading centers since the colonial period. For example, Manila was the administrative and religious center of the Spanish and American colonial presence, and the Acapulco-Manila galleons docked in the port of Cavite. Furthermore, the Cavite province was the cradle of the Philippine Revolution in the late 19th century, and the American military had a strong presence in the Manila Bay region. Today, Manila and Cavite are the most densely populated areas in the Philippines. The place-naming practices in the region reflect these historical developments and thus provide a wealth of interesting data for our study.

In this article, we use a comparative framework provided in the recent focus on colonial and postcolonial toponomastics (Stolz & Warnke 2016, in press), which also brings together the different articles in this volume. The toponyms of the precolonial, Spanish, American, and independent Philippine period are compared, based on a sample from historical and contemporary sources including maps, articles, and geographical surveys.

This paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, we provide information on the historical background of the Manila and Cavite regions. In Section 3, some methodological principles and the materials used in the comparative analysis are presented, while the analysis in Section 4 gives an overview of the results and, more specifically, focuses on a number of selected categories that are central to our argument. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 Historical background

Metro Manila is situated on the eastern shore of Manila Bay, in a low-lying area with a number of rivers draining into the sea and connecting the city to other regions. The most notable of these is the Pasig River, which cuts through the city and flows between Manila Bay and Laguna de Bay. The province of Cavite is

located on the southern shore of the bay. Like Manila, its coastal areas are low-lying plains with a number of rivers flowing into the sea. The southern and western parts of the province, however, are mountainous. The fortified islands at the entrance of Manila Bay, such as Corregidor, are also part of Cavite province, falling under the administration of Cavite City.

When the Spanish first came to Manila and Cavite in 1571, the area was inhabited mainly by Tagalog speakers. However, pre-colonial Manila and the neighboring settlement of Tondo had Muslim rulers tied to the Malay sultanates, particularly in Brunei, and there was also trade with the Chinese (mainly Hokkien speakers) and others throughout the region (Reed 1978). Manila had approximately 2,000 inhabitants during the late precolonial era (Doeppers 1972: 771), but in the region, as throughout the Philippines, most settlements consisted of small clusters of families (a unit known as the *barangay*) situated along waterways or on the coast (Borromeo 1974: 15, Scott 2004: 5). Cavite was sparsely populated, with the exception of some larger settlements in coastal areas like present-day Bacoar and Kawit (Borromeo 1974:22).

Given the relatively large settlements and active trade already established along the coast of Manila Bay, the region became the center of the Spanish government in the Philippines. Colonial Manila was originally the walled city of Intramuros, which was surrounded by several *arrabales* ‘suburbs’, such as Tondo, Binondo, and Dilao, which provided labor, trade, goods, and extra settlement space for the capital (Reed 1978). On the nearby Cavite peninsula, Cavite Puerto was established as a provincial capital because it was the main harbor for the Manila galleon trade. In the rest of Cavite province, indigenous people were resettled into more compact *poblaciones* ‘towns’ to facilitate tax collection and evangelization (Doeppers 1972, Borromeo 1974: 29–35, Medina 2001: 44–46). The original towns founded during the early colonial period were generally in areas where there were already larger native settlements, such as Kawit and Silang (Medina 2001: 45). During the 1700s, more towns were founded as they split off from friar haciendas or other larger towns, such as Imus and Naic. Nearly half of the Cavite towns, however, were actually founded toward the end of the Spanish colonial period (e.g., Caridad, Ternate, and Amadeo), either as offshoots of neighboring settlements or as buffers to protect rural areas against *tulisanismo* ‘banditry’ (Medina 2001: 47–49).

After the Philippine Revolution (1896–1898) and the Spanish-American War (1898), Spain ceded control of the Philippines to the United States. The Americans held official control of the islands until Philippine independence in 1946,

but they maintained a military presence there for decades afterward, and English became a co-official language of the country (along with Filipino).¹ This post-Spanish period saw the founding of new towns in Cavite, such as Trece Martires and Tagaytay, and name changes for others, such as General Trias (previously San Francisco de Malabon) and Cavite City (previously the three separate towns of Cavite Puerto, San Roque, and Caridad). Manila also greatly expanded during this time, going from approximately 190,000 people at the end of the Spanish period (Doeppers 1972: 788–789) to 1.78 million in the city proper today, and 12.88 million in the greater metropolitan area (Philippine Statistics Authority 2016). The region of Metro Manila was officially established in 1975, and today it includes sixteen cities and one municipality. It extends as far as Caloocan, Quezon City, and Valenzuela to the north, Marikina and Pasig to the east, and Las Piñas and Muntinlupa to the south.

3 Methods

Toponym research in the Philippines can be traced back to the work of missionaries in the Hispanic tradition, who produced grammars and dictionaries with references to local place names and their meanings (Medina 1992: 48). Later, both U.S. and Filipino historians collected toponyms in their research. However, Medina (1992: 50) mentions the lack of toponymic bibliographies and systematic collections of historical maps as challenges for studying place names, in addition to the lack of scientific studies on the naming practices, leading to the use of folk etymologies as explanations. Most data on toponyms have to be collected from individual historical works with a focus on folklore, historical and geographical information, or missionary grammars and descriptions. Despite Medina's (1992, 2001) efforts to study toponyms as a part of documenting local history, the situation has not changed until now.

Tormo Sanz & Salazar (1968) and Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo (2008) describe Hispanic names in the Philippines and shed light on the early motivations and practices on colonial place-naming in the region, which started with the islands and coastal regions, and with time, moved towards the interior. As a consequence, regions with a heavier colonial presence and higher population density

1 Filipino (formerly called Pilipino) is a standardized register originally based on Tagalog. According to the 1987 constitution, Filipino and English are co-official languages, and Spanish (along with Arabic) is a voluntary language, meaning that it is no longer required in the education system or other official contexts (Gonzalez 1998).

have a higher number of Spanish names, while isolated areas have more autochthonous names (Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo 2008: 538, 540). At the level of the archipelago, the large islands have autochthonous names, with the exception of Negros (Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo 2008: 536). As Tormo Sanz & Salazar (1968: 2098–2102) noted, the Spanish tended to maintain indigenous toponyms at the beginning of the colonial period, even though they had difficulty with the phonology of Philippine languages, as reflected in spelling inconsistencies in chronicles written by early explorers (e.g., Manila appears as *Maniolas*, *Mainillas*, and *Manilas* in various sources). After the initial phase of the colonial period, however, more Spanish names were used, sometimes blended with Tagalog forms (Tormo Sanz & Salazar 1968: 2102–2106).

Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo (2008) cover names relating to political geography (provinces, settlements, street names, etc.) based on the *Roadmap of the Philippines* (1995) and give percentages about the number of Hispanic names, but they do not specify the exact number of toponyms analyzed. Street names have the highest number of Hispanic names, (46.8 %) and the numbers decrease when moving towards larger units, such as settlements (28.3 %) and provinces (18.4 %) (Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo 2008: 538). They report that in Cavite, 56 % (n = 25) of the town names are of Spanish origin (Quilis & Casado-Fresnillo 2008: 541). In general, systematic linguistic studies from a cross-linguistic perspective on place-naming practices in Cavite province or Manila do not yet exist. Our study aims to partly fill this lacuna of research.

The material for this paper consists of a sample from historical and contemporary sources, including maps and geographical surveys. The availability of historical sources with information on Philippine geography is relatively good. In recent decades, the Spanish National Library has made an effort to digitalize colonial and other historical publications and documents, including maps, which can be accessed through the library's digital collections. Similarly, the University of Alcalá hosts the Spanish Ancient Cartography e-Library, which provides a wealth of sources for those interested in exploring maps from the Spanish colonial period.

The earliest source in our sample is a Spanish map from 1734, and the latest maps were produced by the National Mapping and Resource Information Authority of the Philippines (NAMRIA) in the 1990s and early 2000s. In addition, place names were collected from geographical surveys, such as the *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de las islas Filipinas* (Buzeta & Bravo 1850) and *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas* (Cavada y Mendez de Vigo 1876). Table 1 gives an overview of the maps used in the sample.

Table 1: Maps of the Cavite province and Manila in the sample.

Title	Publication year	Total number of examples	Area of focus	Authors (publishing authority)
Carta hydrographica y chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas	1734	26	Manila and Cavite	Murillo & Bagay (Spanish)
Plano de la ciudad y plaza de Manila	1766	36	Manila	Zermeño (Spanish)
Plano del puerto de Cavite con sus enseñadas de Cañacao y Bacoor y parte de la bahía de Manila hasta Parañaque	1874	20	Cavite and Manila Bay	Riudavets & Villavicencio (Spanish)
Carta General del Archipiélago Filipino...	1875	10	Manila and Cavite	Montero y Gay et al. (Spanish)
A Chart of the Great Bay of Manilla and Harbour of Cavita	1789	30	Manila and Cavite	Nicholson & Gilbert (British)
Plano de la Ciudad de Manila Capital de las Yslas Filipinas Siendo...	1819	38	Manila	Herrera (Spanish)
Carta Esférica del Estrecho de Sn. Bernardino, é islas adyacentes	1856	9	Manila Bay	Bernacci, Espejo, Gangoiti, Noguera, Roca de Torre (Spanish)
City of Manila. Philippine Islands	1920	53	Manila	Bach (American)
Manila, Philippines 7172 II	1995	16	Central Metro Manila	NAMRIA (Filipino)
Region IV, Cavite, Mendez, sheet 3129	1993/2005	32	Southern Cavite	NAMRIA (Filipino)
Region IV, Cavite, Cavite City, sheet 3129	2001a/2005	35	Northern Cavite	NAMRIA (Filipino)
Maragondon, Philippines, sheet 7171 IV	2001b/2005	52	Maragondon and Manila Bay islands	NAMRIA (Filipino)
National Capital Region, Metro Manila, Muntinlupa City, sheet 3229-IV	2001c/2002	3	Southern Metro Manila	NAMRIA (Filipino)

Table 1: (continued)

National Capital Region, Quezon City, sheet 3230-III	2001d	30	Northern/Eastern Metro Manila	NAMRIA (Filipino)
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The principles governing the data collection were the focus on the two regions and the availability of material in digital form. After localizing the main sources, these were examined and processed, and the place names were manually coded into an index. All the geographical names in the maps forming our sample were collected and indexed following the categories in Stolz & Warnke (this volume). This source type yielded over 350 place names and other indications, such as names of forts and gates, from the maps. Due to the fact that the authors of these maps were cartographers working for the colonial or national authorities and for marine purposes, salient categories of geo-objects in these maps included oikonyms (settlement names, i.e. districts, cities, towns, etc.) as well as islands, from the category of choronyms (referring to larger geographical units). Many names are repeated in different sources, sometimes with slight modifications of the orthography, or creating hybrid forms mixing elements from several languages (see 4.3).

Other source types were selected to complement the core materials. As these included several place names also from other parts of the Philippines, we narrowed down the data collection to the above-mentioned categories of settlement names and islands for more detailed analysis in section four.

4 Analysis

Settlement names in our corpus show a relatively even distribution of patterns. A little less than one-third of the settlement names are Tagalog endonyms, one-third are Spanish exonyms, and the remainder are hybrid forms. Although there was a large Chinese and Chinese-Filipino mestizo presence in colonial Manila and Cavite (Gealogo 2005, 2011), Hokkien had almost no influence on how places were named.

Many endonyms describe natural features of the area, and probably arose during history without a clear date of naming, but these were often adapted by the Spanish colonial administrators. With regard to the Spanish exonyms, it is clear that the denominators were colonial agents, and the number of names that have prevailed until today shows that the local population adapted these nam-

ing practices to a large extent. The English/American exonyms are of a different character, mainly adding geo-classifiers to already existing names. The hybrid settlement names show three patterns: Tagalog-Spanish, e.g. San Pedro Macati, where the first part of the name comes from a Spanish saint and the latter is a Tagalog adjective referring to a low tide or ebb; Tagalog-English, e.g. the later name of Makati City, referring to the same area; and even Spanish-English naming patterns, such as Quezon City, which combines a Spanish family name with the English denominator *city*.

Compared to the settlement names, the number of exonyms in the category of islands is higher: about two-thirds of the island names are Spanish exonyms, such as Caballo 'horse', Corregidor 'magistrate', El Fraile 'the friar', and La Monja 'the nun'. However, these names can be combined in hybrid forms with Tagalog *pulo* 'island', as in Pulo Caballo, or with English descriptives, as in Caballo Island or Corregidor Island.

Regarding the number and type of structural features, we must treat endonyms and exonyms separately, due to the typological nature of the languages in question. Tagalog is an Austronesian, Philippine language with slight morphological inflection and affixation. In Tagalog endonyms, both one-unit and multi-morpheme names occur, both being descriptive of the characteristics of the place. In the multi-unit names, the use of the adjectival prefix *ma-*, indicating an abundance of something, is quite common. For example, Maragondon (< Tag. *madagundong* 'full of noise') refers to the substantial noise produced by the local river as it flows through the rocks. In contemporary official names, possessive constructions with the linker *ng* are common, as in *Lungsod ng Malabon* 'City of Malabon'.

In exonyms, several patterns occur as well. As a Romance language, Spanish makes use of articles and modifiers in the noun phrase that can be both pre- and postposed. Multi-unit structures include combinations of articles and nouns, such as Las Piñas 'the pineapples' or La Estanzuela 'the estate'; possessive *de*-constructions, such as Barrio de Dilao (< Sp. *barrio de* 'neighborhood of', Tag. *dilaw* 'yellow') or San Juan del Monte 'St. John of the Mountain'; or complex names, such as General Trias (a military title and last name) or Trece Martires City ('Thirteen Martyrs City'). In religious names, such as Santa Cruz, San Juan, or San Roque, the binary structure typical of colonial place names (Stolz & Warnke 2015, 2016: 37) is evident. Adjectival constructions, such as Cavite Viejo 'old Cavite', also occur. In hybrid forms with Spanish, the matrix is the Spanish phrase, where Tagalog (or other) elements are included. In the hybrid forms with English elements, English descriptors or geo-classifiers are generally postposed to the Tagalog or Spanish part of the name, as in Caballo

Island or Cavite City, although possessive *of*-constructions also occur, e.g. City of Caloocan or City of Taguig.

4.1 Tagalog endonyms

Place names in Tagalog and other Philippine languages often refer to plants or other natural objects that are common in the area (Medina 1992: 56). For example, the name Manila or Maynila refers to the presence of either mangrove shrubs or indigo plants (< Tag. *may nila(d)* ‘there are nila plants’). Quiapo, a district of Manila, is a hispanicized spelling of *kiyapo* ‘tropical duckweed’. According to Medina (2001: 52), the Cavite town of Masilao (now Amadeo) was named after the bright red flowers of the *dapdap* ‘coral tree’ (from Tag. *silaw* ‘glare’, *masilaw* ‘dazzling’).

Another common Tagalog pattern is to name places after salient geographic features. Examples of this pattern include the towns of Silang ‘mountain pass’, Imus ‘cape, headland’, Bacoor ‘highland, plateau’, and Tagaytay ‘ridge’. The word *malabon* ‘having many silt deposits’ was also used in the names of two towns in Cavite: Santa Cruz de Malabon (now Tanza) and San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias). Malabon is also the name of one of the cities in Metro Manila; it is located at the mouth of the Tullahan River, where there would have been many silt deposits, although there is a common folk etymology that the name comes from *malabong* ‘having many bamboo shoots’.

4.2 Spanish exonyms

According to Tormo Sanz & Salazar (1968) and Quesada & Casado-Fresnillo (2008: 534–544), colonial Spanish names for Filipino provinces, towns, and districts tend to refer to religion, places in Spain or elsewhere, important historical or political figures, or given names. Given names are also often religious in nature, as in Latin America (Val Julián 2011: 74–78). Most of these types occur in Manila and Cavite as well. Examples of places with religious names include the Ermita ‘hermitage’ and Santa Cruz ‘holy cross’ districts of Manila and the towns of San Roque and Rosario ‘rosary’ in Cavite. During the late colonial era, some newly established Cavite towns were named in honor of Spanish political figures, such as Dasmariñas (referring to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, the seventh governor-general of the Philippines), Amadeo (King Amadeo I, who reigned from 1870 to 1873), and Alfonso (King Alfonso XII, who reigned from 1874 to 1885). In the case of Amadeo and Alfonso, older Tagalog settlement names were

replaced (Masilao ‘dazzling’ and Alas-as ‘pandan, screwpine’, respectively). Another town founded during the 19th century, Carmona, shares its name with a town in southern Spain. In addition to the patterns observed by Quesada & Casado-Fresnillo (2008), there were occasionally colonial Spanish names that described the function or environment of the town, as in the case of Salinas ‘salt flats, saltworks’ (now Rosario) and Tierra Alta ‘high ground’ (now Noveleta).

After the end of the Spanish era, some towns were given names that are of Spanish origin but honor Filipino national heroes. For example, in 1914, San Francisco de Malabon was renamed General Trias, after local hero Mariano Trías, who was an active figure in the Philippine Revolution and in the post-Spanish government. Similarly, Trece Martires ‘Thirteen Martyrs’, founded in 1954, was named in honor of a group of men who were executed in 1896 for conspiring against the Spanish in Cavite Puerto. Another Cavite town seems to still be in the process of negotiating its postcolonial name. Bailén, which shares a name with another town in southern Spain, was changed to General Emilio Aguinaldo in honor of the first Philippine president after his death in 1964. However, the town’s name was changed back to Bailén in 2012, although it is not yet fully official.

4.3 Hybrid place names

Names like San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias) and San Pedro Macati (now Makati) reflect the mixing of Spanish and Tagalog forms that occurred during the colonial era. In these two examples, the toponyms combine Catholic saint names with descriptive Tagalog names. Another type of hispanized form involves the changing of Tagalog names to conform to Spanish phonology. For example, according to Medina (1992: 56), the Manila district of Malate “should rightly have been called Maalat” (< Tag. *maalat* [maʔalat] ‘salty’), but the Spanish would have had difficulty pronouncing the intervocalic glottal stop and the syllable-final /t/.

American influence on hybrid toponyms in the region is mainly found in the form of geo-classifiers such as *city*, *municipality*, *island*, and *river* (e.g., City of Makati or Makati City, Municipality of Noveleta, Corregidor Island, and Pasig River). However, these official terms also co-exist with their equivalents in Filipino, such as *lungsod* ‘city’, *bayan* ‘municipality’, *isla* ‘island’ (< Sp. *isla*), and *ilog* ‘river’ (e.g., Lungsod ng Makati, Bayan ng Noveleta, Isla ng Corregidor, and Ilog Pasig). The use of these geo-classifiers has led to hybrid forms with both Spanish and Tagalog, as in Caballo Island (< Sp. *caballo* ‘horse’) and Municipality of Silang (< Tag. *silang* ‘mountain pass’).

The sample includes only one example of a toponym related to Hokkien. One tip of the Cavite City peninsula is known today as Sangley Point, a hybrid Hokkien-English name, which is a translation of the earlier Spanish-Hokkien form Punta (de) Sangley. During the Spanish era, *sangley* referred to Chinese people, particularly traders, living in the Philippines. The origins of this term are not entirely clear, but it appears to derive from Hokkien *siang⁵ lai⁵* ‘constant-ly coming’ or *sing¹ -li²* ‘trade’ (Klötter 2011: 9).

4.4 English exonyms

At the broad geographical level, American influence on toponyms in the region has not been very strong. As mentioned above, it is mainly found in the form of geo-classifiers in hybrid forms. In addition to these, the American militarization of Manila and Cavite City has had some slight influence on toponyms in the region. For example, the islands of Corregidor, Caballo, Carabao, and El Fraile were also designated as Fort Mills, Fort Frank, Fort Hughes, and Fort Drum, respectively. Aside from these fort names and the geo-classifiers, however, English toponyms are more commonly found at levels below town or district (e.g., *barangay* ‘neighborhood’ names like Greenhills in San Juan and Fairview in Quezon City, or business names). Spanish and Tagalog place names are still far more frequent.

4.5 Name changes

Several of the examples presented above show that renaming and combining elements from new languages with existing names has been quite common in the Manila and Cavite regions. The practical and symbolic value of place-naming practices is shown in these changes (see also Stolz & Warnke 2016: 33–35). In addition, it is not surprising that naming practices reflect other linguistic practices in the multilingual environment, where people use several languages in their daily communication, and borrowing and code-switching are frequent.

The multiple names of the municipality of Ternate, which is located at the mouth of the Maragondon River at the entrance to Manila Bay, is a case in point. During the Spanish era, Ternate was known by the descriptive name Barra de Maragondon ‘sandbar/river mouth of Maragondon’. It was an outlying *barrio* ‘neighborhood’ of the town of Maragondon and an enclave where people spoke a variety of Chabacano, a Philippine-Spanish creole. The barrio was established as a separate town in the mid-1800s. It was renamed Ternate during the early

1900s as a reference to the ancestors of the Chabacano-speaking population, who descended from a group of soldiers who were relocated from the Moluccan island of Ternate to the Manila Bay region during the late 1600s. Today, the municipality is officially called Bayan ng Ternate in Filipino, but the local government also uses both *Municipalidad de Barra* and *Municipality of Ternate* on their website (<http://www.ternate.cavite.gov.ph>). The inhabitants of the town call it Ternate in Filipino/Tagalog and English, Bahra or Barra (from Barra de Maragondon) in Chabacano, and also often refer to a third name, Wawa (< Tag. 'river mouth, delta'), which was used earlier by the local Tagalog-speaking population.

Another example of the shifting of names is related to the towns now known as Cavite City and Kawit. The Tagalog word *kawit* means 'hook', and the place name refers to the shape of the peninsula where Cavite City is located. This peninsula was also known simply as Tangway (< Tag. 'peninsula') in the precolonial era (Borromeo 1974: 29). The Spanish changed the name of the mainland settlement of Kawit to Cavite, which conforms better to Spanish phonology, and then began referring to it as Cavite Viejo 'old Cavite' after they established the town of Cavite Puerto (or Puerto de Cavite 'port of Cavite') on the peninsula.

The names then changed again after the Spanish era. Cavite Viejo opted to revert to its original Tagalog name, Kawit, in 1907. Not coincidentally, the town also sees itself as the birthplace of Philippine independence. Cavite City residents are equally proud of the important roles their ancestors played in the revolution. However, after Cavite Puerto, San Roque, and Caridad were united in 1903, the name Cavite was retained because the peninsula was the most hispanicized area of the province, and another variety of Chabacano was widely spoken in all three former towns.

5 Concluding remarks

In summary, the patterns and principles that govern place-naming practices in Manila and Cavite show both maintenance of local names and renaming according to colonial customs in rather equal measure. Structurally speaking, both single- and multi-unit names occur in all languages present.

Place-naming practices in Metro Manila and Cavite have shifted over time due to the contact between Tagalog, Spanish, and English in the region. Filipinos originally tended to name places based on natural characteristics of the local environment, but the Spanish introduced the practices of giving settle-

ments religious names or honoring important people. After the Spanish period, Filipinos retained many of these names and practices; however, emphasizing their freedom from Spain, they also chose to revert to older Tagalog names in some cases or to honor Filipino heroes in others. English influence, in contrast, is mostly seen in how military zones and administrative units like forts, municipalities, and cities are labeled, reflecting its status as the dominant language of the Philippine government and the main purpose of the American colonization there. Hokkien was historically also present in the region, but there is almost no trace of it in the place names.

These shifts in naming practices correspond to the different stages of the development of the Philippines from precolonial times to present, as identity in Manila and Cavite has gradually shifted from local to national in response to ideological changes introduced by two colonial forces and eventual independence. As the examples in this paper have shown, this process is not complete. Settlement names in the Philippines are continuing to undergo slight changes, for example by reverting to older names or using Filipino settlement labels alongside English ones, as place identity continues to develop during the post-colonial era.

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